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562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
593 speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move, the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture, and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors, *salaf*, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
574 says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not at home, *tarákom jè zujûf rā'i-l-bejt mā hu hāzer*." Then she brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready, if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests, she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent it, *en fulleiha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon afterwards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
586 557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
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by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents.

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them: *ar-rā'i w-al-marʾa la tenāʿkerhom elja tabṭi-tenāʿkerhom ṭṭāʿrkom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Rowḥeri tārīk ṭalēk w-ar-raǧǧāl ʿalēk*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥaṭṭu maṭṭi ʿalēje ǧalāleč*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin. *elja waṣalti bejt halač ṭalāčač jeṭṭīk ṭalčič ila bejt halač*." for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin.

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭalēk beṯ-ṭalāṯ al-ḥawārem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧīr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḫallīč likill aḥad ʿoḫob flān* (or *kowd flān*, or *ṣejr flān*) *mūni uḫallīč leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḫallīč likill aḥad ja ʿoḫob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṣejr*) *flān*." When a man

586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭallełni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *ʾâdî-lli warâḥ*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *ʿajb čebîr*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Miḥref eben Kurdî once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Miḥref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Miḥref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥaǧǧarha*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Miḥref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, eben al-ʿamm, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

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become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Miśref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭiʿ min ḥoor abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḫâlaf ḥowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥafra*, and would not allow Miśref to come near her. After becoming Miśref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Miśref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *zaʿlâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *(fûti-le-l-beyt.)*" The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

586 562 602 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajâf*. All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she h... stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 851 691 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has to wait at least six months, *leha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation:

851 584 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ' eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḥalaf âl Iǧen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḥalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḥalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

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851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meǧidijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏil an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḳejje*. If his wife's lover

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cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconcilistion with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

586 837 587 [684]

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

581 602 626

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

683 831

[1] [Errata: See p. 712, cat. 116 for correction of ...]

852 o Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their
539 bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ǧebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejh min eḏ-ḏahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṯowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ǧemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ǧa'al min tabroẓeh tenlâ'
jamût wlêdaha-r-rzâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [342 thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred 554] by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband [586 and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to 754] the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mokra ẖidat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḫawwâdha ḥâled She was led by Ḥâled,
lâ jâ ba'ad 'êni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mokra means in this case the young wife of Ḥâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḫorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf